

S E C O N D
R E M A R K S

U P O N

Mr. *Steele's* CRISIS, *k*

Polit. Pamphlet 88.
Humbly inscrib'd to the

C L E R G Y

O F T H E

Church of *England.*

E D I N B U R G H :

Printed by Mr. ROBERT FREEBAIRN,
Printer to the QUEEN's Most Excellent
Majesty. MDCCLXIV.

EMARKS

CRISIS

THE



Branch of England.

EDINBURGH.

Printed by Mr. ROBERT FRASER, at the QUEEN'S Most Excellent Majesty, MEDICINE.

Gen
TH
any
hav
ns appro
ur selve
leavours
consent
stele, r
thoughts
ears, n
ion, has
ood Opin
gent, he
own Ser
maintan
ual Par
ed, tel
in certa

TO THE
CLERGY
OF THE
Church of *England*.

Gentlemen,

THERE are none of your Fellow-Countrymen, who have any Sense of Religion, or Regard to Things Sacred, but have an Ambition to have their Sentiments, and Actions approved of by you; and most of us think we have acquitted our selves well, if we can obtain a good Character of our Endeavours to serve God, and our Country, from the general Consent of your Order. Upon this Account, the worthy Mr. Steele, who writeth daily, and after having Published the Thoughts of himself, and Friends, for the space of several years, now republishes the Acts of Parliament of this Nation, has address'd himself to you, in hopes of gaining your good Opinion of his Writings. If you give him Encouragement, he may in a short Time, make bold to Dedicate your own Sermons to you, as a very ingenious Person of his Acquaintance did a Play, to the Author of it, if such an unequal Parallel may be allowed upon this Occasion. He did indeed, tell the Gentlemen, he would be surpriz'd at it, as certainly would be, should the other Case happen to you; in

The Epistle Dedicatory.

the mean Time, you are to be satisfied with the Dedication of the Crisis.

But I humbly conceive, that Mr. Steele has no more your Consent to this Address of his, than I have to mine; nor indeed, should I have ventured at so Publick an Appeal to you, but that I am conscious that I entertain as just a Deference as that Author, not only to your Power and Influence, but the Sacred Authority by which you act, and by which you deservedly have gained that Influence. To you, therefore, I dedicate these Remarks, desiring you to observe, that my Respect is as inviolable to you, as his, but then it proceeds on another Foundation, he seeming to be afraid, or to suspect your Power, and the Consequences it may have upon the Nation. I being firmly persuaded that you have no ill Designs in the Exercise of it, and believing that as you understand your Duty better than your Instructor, so you will give us (as you ever have done) such Instances of it, as shall convince all Rational Men, that you have a just Care and Concern for the Established Church, and its Members; your several Flocks, of which you are to give an Account to the Institutor, and Head of the Church, before the Face of Men, and Angels.

I think it improper to detain you with a particular Account of my own Deserts towards you, as your Dedication-Writer always has done, nor will I so much as bribe your Judgment with the Discovery of my Name, being not at all concerned for the Popularity which he affects, and which a Man had better without, than have so dependant upon the Merit of others, as it is to make it the Object of the Contempt of a Wise Man, and the Envy of none but a very Vain one.

SECON

SECOND
REMARKS
UPON THE
CRISIS.

WE have been a long time in Expectation of this Work ; The Favourers of the Author speaking loudly in its Commendation before it appear'd in Publick, a sort of previous Compliment, that some Gentlemen always pay to the Writings of their Friends, when they are as yet in *Embrio*, and which is follow'd by as an implicit Fondness as soon as they see the Light. These Praises are as necessary Supports to a teeming Author, as it is to tell a breeding Woman she *looks well*, and pretend to prophesie strange things concerning her future Offspring. Such Arts as these have enabled our sage Politician to bring forth his *Wisdom*, and when he had gone his Time, he thought the *Female World* the properest Instruments of Midwifry, and was delivered by the Subscription of the *Ladies*.

Before I enter upon examining the curious Strokes in the *Crisis*, I must observe that the whole Subject of the Book is only an Account of what was known before by every Man of Sense and common Learning in the Nation, and that the Author's repeating the Words of our Legislators

Legislators seems as if he thought they would be received better from him, than from those who first conceived them in those Terms; as if his Authority could have a greater Weight upon the People of these Kingdoms, than that of the Estates of Parliament. This Gentleman, being now a Senator *Elect*, seems to fancy that he has sate in every Parliament since the Revolution, and had as great a Hand in the Transactions of all the Affairs in them, as he expects to have in some *future Ones*. I can pardon his Zeal as an Author when He and the *Examiner* fall out about the Meaning and Design of his Writings, I am contented that he should repeat his own Paragraphs at length, and vindicate himself from Misinterpretations; and seem concerned for his Integrity, and the Honour of his Cause. But when he turns Abridger and Explainer of *Statutes*, as if he had a share in the composing them, and pretends to make a *Comment upon the Laws which regard the Settlement of the Crown*, I can't help thinking his Pains superfluous to a great part of his Fellow-Subjects, and he himself a most improper Interpreter of the Laws of the Nation to a greater Majority. Suppose Mr. *Steele* has a hearty Zeal for the *Succession in the House of Hannover* as settled by Act of Parliament, and yet as considered in a private Capacity, and unacquainted with Matters of that Nature, I can't see what Right or Pretence he has to explain the Sense of the *Legislature*, and tho' he may have given the true Meaning of them, yet it is a Presumption in him to attempt it. But *Esquire Steele* is now a Member, and, we suppose, in order to qualify himself for *Speech-making*, he is now reading the *Statutes* backwards and it being his Custom to be very Communicative of his Learning, he has thought fit to inform the World that he has read as far as the *Revolution*, and because they shall be as wise as himself, has obliged them, for the Price of one Shilling, with all the Acts relating to the Succession. But every Thing, says an old Philosopher, whom he used to quote formerly, *has two Handles*; and

I take
his pr
wise th
of his
previo
was a
ridicul
have b
Englan
whate
others
forwar
bribed
the M
itions
under
blown
But
view
any p
does t
mann
tings
Man
a Cha
his A
Churo
to tha
tion v
sure
direc
his F
must
St=
Pulp
tends
for g
and t

I take the Ground of this Writer's Zeal to proceed from his *private Occasions*, as well as his *publick Spirit*, otherwise this Piece had been left to the common Chance of his other Productions, and not have born so many previous Importunities for a *generous Subscription*. Never was a *Monster* surer Money to honest Tom whom he has ridicul'd in his *Tatler*, than the Words *Publick Spirit* have been to Mr. *St—le*. Of all the People I know in *England* his *Politicks* are suited the best to his *Interest*, whatever *Insinuations* he may be pleased to make upon others for squaring theirs by the same Rule. He is very forward to accuse all his Antagonists of being hired, and bribed into the Service of their Party, but if they are, the Matter is contrived so, that there are no *Publick Petitions* for their *Pay*; the *Mercenary* is at least covered under the Disguise of Modesty, but here the *Trumpet* is blown both by the *Giver* and the *Receiver*.

But to do no Injustice to his great Modesty, let us view him in the Light he places himself, and see if ever any private Person presumed to give such Lessons as he does to the *Clergy*. He *conjures* them in the most solemn manner to *recommend the Matters* he treats of in their *Writings and Discourses to their Fellow-Subjects*. Would not a Man imagine by this *Stile*, that he was a *Bishop* giving a Charge to his *Clergy*, or rather a *Metropolitan* extending his Authority to all the subordinate Pastors of the *Church*? Or could he have assumed a Power superior to that he now takes upon him in any Capacity or Station whatsoever? The *Clergy* then must take their Measure of acting from this *Political Comedian*, they must direct the Powers of their Eloquence as the Springs of his Fancy Work, the Argument of their Discourses must turn upon the Subjects he prescribes, and *Rich—d St—le* be quoted as a Part of Canonical Divinity in the Pulpit. Great and Comprehensive Genius! that extends it self to all Orders of Men, that plants Nurseries for growing *Wits*, regulates the Oeconomy of Families, and takes *Divinity* into the Pupillage of an Universal *Guardian*;

dian. A certain Person, whom Mr. Steele quotes in his Preface for a Passage, of which I am pretty sure the Transcriber never saw the Original, insisted once upon the same Topick, and was for confining the Discourses of the Clergy to such Subjects as *He* thought agreeable to his Notions of *Christianity*, and with great Modesty said, *That they should be taught what Doctrines to preach.*

I have desired a Friend of mine, who is for the same restraining Principle, to favour me with a Catalogue of the Points which this Consistory of Church-Directors, thought fit to impose on the Clergy; and I shall in a short time lay them before that venerable Body, after the modern Fashion, with my own *Comments* upon them.

One Subject, which has given the Cause of most Offence, I can collect from our Author, which is, that unwary Men, in Holy Orders, *who have made the Constitution of their own Country a very little Part of their Study, have yet made Obedience and Government the frequent Subject of their Discourses.* I do not perceive that these Men are less furnished with the Knowledge of our Constitution than Mr. Steele; but suppose them never so ignorant, they have still all the Reason in the World, from the Obligations of their Duty, to recommend and enforce an Obedience to Governours in general, to their Audience. At the time when these Discourses were most frequent, it was expected from them by their Hearers, and no safer Method to prevent Commotions, could have been taken, than that general Consent which appeared almost in the whole Order, of sticking close to the *Scripture Doctrine* of Obedience. This was not to *enflame* their Minds, but regulate their Conduct, and a happy Effect it had for the Security of the Nation. If the Opposers of these Doctrines were really innocent of any ill Designs upon the Constitution, as he would intimate; they took such a Liberty of Action and Expression, as no Men of Sense would have done, who designed to have persuaded People of their Innocence. But to proceed, Mr. Steele is not content with his Charge, but he must venture

ture at a Reason for the Source of these Opinions which prevailed among the Clergy.

These Men, says he, from the pompous Idea's of Imperial Greatness, and Submission to absolute Emperors, which they imbibed in their earlier Years, have from Time to Time inadvertently uttered Notions of Power, and Obedience, abhorrent from the Laws of this their Native Country.

Our Senator imagines that every Body reads Books backwards like himself, and goes no farther in this inverted Method of Study than one particular Favorite Date of the Constitution, and believe all the preceeding Parts of the History insignificant, and of no Consequence. I would fain know, why those Gentlemen, whose Business and Inclinations lead them into these Enquiries, should not form their Notions and Ideas of the Power and Figure those Nations enjoyed from other more celebrated *Æras* in their Story. Mr. *Hobbs*, who understood human Nature, and the Method of Study at least as well as Mr. *Steele*, gives a better Reason why the younger Part of our Gentlemen were fond of other very opposite Notions of Government. He thinks that when they saw what a glorious Figure the *Grecian* Commonwealths, and the mixed Models of Power among the *Romans* before all devolved upon one Man, made in the Eye of the known World, that they were insensibly drawn from *admiring*, to *imitating*, and preferred upon all Occasions the *Republican Scheme* to any other. I appeal to any one who is conversant with any Part of our History, which Opinion is most probable; Mr. *Hobbs* draws one Consequence from the manner of our Education, Mr. *Steele* another; *Utri creditis Quirites?*

He has asked leave to take Notice to his Patrons of the two foregoing Passages, and now he begins to grow upon them, as if they had consented to all he says, and will take the farther Liberty to say something more. He may take what Liberty he pleases, at least he will; he has been acting under so many Titles of an imaginary Dictatorship, that the *Ideas of his Imperial Greatness* remain so strong

strong upon him, that he now believes himself invested with a real one. The *Universities* are now the Object of his Care; he is prescribing the Tutors what they are to read, and engrafting his political Maxims upon the *Statutes of Founders*. Hear him talk a little. — “ If the Acts of Parliament mentioned in the following Treatise had been from time to time put in a fair and clear Light, and been carefully recommended to the Perusal of young Gentlemen in Colleges, with a Preference to all other Civil Institutions whatsoever, this Kingdom had not been in its present Condition.

With Submission to the great Judgement of this Writer, I conceive it would be of very ill Consequence to alter the Course of Study in the Universities, and much more if the Foundations of all future Knowledge were to give Place to Debates upon Government. If Acts of Parliament had once become the Argument of *School-Contention*, and the Constitution of our Kingdom was to be drawn into *Mode and Figure*, and all the Arts of Logic used *Pro and Con* in the Management of these Debates, I am perswaded indeed with this Author, that *this Kingdom had not been in its present Condition*, but had been in a much worse; our Divisions had been greater and more stubborn, they had been suck'd in with our Learning, and converted into an habitual Principle of Contention. As for the *fair and clear Light* he would have had them put in, I suppose he recommends his own, which indeed is no more than a bare Repetition of the Acts themselves, with a Preface, or a Conclusion of, *that was wise, that was prudent*, and sometimes *noble, excellent, full of Spirit, and Resentment*. It is a great Happiness indeed that the publick Records of the Transactions of the Nation are so full, clear and expressive, and at the same time so plain, that when the proper time of our Gentlemens reading them does come, they greatly need not the Assistance of a *Commentator*, and those Explanations some may want are not to be borrowed from *Commentaries, News-Writers*, and the *Penny Oracle* of those

who

who call themselves the fine Gentlemen of the Town. However the Universities, it is to be hoped, will acknowledge the kind Instructions of their Reformer, and if any publick-spirited Persons shall think it proper to found a *Lecture* for the reading of *Acts of Parliament*, they may do him the Honour of electing him the first *Professor*.

Now if any one intended to form a just Idea of our Constitution, the several Alterations, Improvements, Diminutions of Power in the Branches of it, and would compare it with the most ancient Plan, it is certain his Way to complete such a Design would be to trace downward from the Original, and lay the greatest Stress upon those Determinations which proceed from a cool, temperate and regular Decrees, and not lay the Foundation of the Constitution upon Acts of Necessity, extreme Exigencies, and such Convulsions of State, which tho' of Safety to the *Whole*, yet may weaken many Parts of the Government. I hope my Adversary will not say I am attacking the *Revolution*, to which I firmly assent, upon as good Motives in my Opinion as he he does; what I mean, is, that he proposes a defective, partial Scheme, to examine the Excellency of our Government by; and that we can never attain a full and proper Notion of its Nature, by these Means only, which he proposes.

In the next Place, he tells the Clergy that they know the Nature and Obligations of Oaths much better than he, and yet he talks to them in as imperious a Manner, and Catechises them with such an Air of Superiority, as if they did not know what an Oath was. He here takes an Opportunity to show his Talent at *Declamation*, heaping together a Parcel of Interrogatory Sentences; *What a Triumph? What an Occasion? What could we object?* As if he was playing a Prize of Eloquence with a young Pleader, rather than talking seriously upon a Subject, that deserves all our Concerns. Nothing but the Pretensions to such an Emotion of Spirit; such a Torrent of Zeal

Zeal, could indeed have raised him to such a Pitch, as to fling out the following dark Sentences.

“ Men MAY do in the highest Prosperity, what it would not be excusable to attempt under the lowest Necessity.

“ The Laws of our Country, the Powers of the Legislature, the Faith of Nations, and the Honour of God, may be too weak Considerations to bear up against the popular CRY OF THE CHURCH: This fatal Prepossession, may shelter Men in raising the French Name, and Roman Catholick Interest in GREAT BRITAIN, and consequently in all Europe.

Mr. Steele would be angry with his Reader, if he should pretend not to understand the Persons he points at in his Description of *Men in Prosperity*, and those that may raise the French Name. This is one of the foulest Insinuations that ever was cast upon the Ministry; and the Author of it ought to be very well assured of the Probability of his Fact, or nothing can protect him from the severest Censure of the Laws. It is the meanest Artifice a Man of Probity can be guilty of, (and such would he appear) to wound the Reputation of Men of Characters, by putting of Cases, and May-bee's, to suppose that they may use their Power to the vilest, and most dishonourable Ends; the Destruction of their Religion, and their Country. He is well acquainted with the Cunning of his Interpreters, who can easily pick out the meaning of the Calumny, when the Author dares not speak it quite out, they can raise *Supposition* into *Demonstration*, and know how to construe one *Mood*, and *Tense* by *Another*, more *Positive* and *Declarative*. They who cast such oblique Insinuations are the most unlikely to heal Divisions, and whatever specious Pretences of Sincerity they may assume, they can never persuade us they are earnest. I should rather call them, as Mr. [Hooker], does the *Seed-Men* of Rebellion, who disguise and cover indeed what they sow, but choose their Ground with such

Care

ch, as
what
e low-
ne Le-
f God,
against
RCH:
raising
ereft in
in all
if he
points
ose that
fouleft
and the
Probabi-
rom the
Artifice
ould he
Chara-
ofe that
ft difho-
on, and
e Cun-
out the
ares not
emonstra-
Tense by
who call
to heal
Sinceri-
they are
ker, does
over in-
with fuch
Care

Care, that they know where it will grow up, and flourish to their Advantage.

After this Mr. Steele is at Liberty to offer his Advice as he pleases, to desire what Obedience is due to Governours, what Respect to Men empowered by their God, and their Sovereign; but he will hardly be believed to maintain such a Duty to them, as is consistent with the Notions of Probity, and the *Precepts of Christianity*. All that I can see is the Aim, is how far a Man may accuse them, without incurring the Punishment of the Laws; what Licence he may use, in reflecting upon the Integrity of their past Administration, and what Conjectures he may raise upon their future Designs, so as to make their present Actions odious to the People. But since he insists so very much to the Clergy upon their Duty, I beg Leave to lay before them the Opinion of a much greater Man than their Dedicator, upon the Subject of their Preaching, on the Obedience to the Government.

The Archbishop of York has told them their Duty in this Point.

“ It does not follow, says that Great, and Good Prelate, because we are not meddling in STATE AFFAIRS, but that we are all bound, as we have Occasion, to preach up LOYALTY, and OBEDIENCE to our Governours, for this is no STATE-AFFAIR, but an AFFAIR of the GOSPEL. We cannot instruct Men in Christ's Religion, without instructing them in this.

“ If indeed it was an indifferent Thing to a Man's Christianity, or to his Salvation, whether he was a GOOD, or a BAD Subject; then indeed it would be as indifferent to a Preacher, whether he insisted on these Things to the People, but it is not so.

“ One great Branch of Christian Holiness, as it is declared in the *New Testament*, is, that every Man demean himself quietly and peaceably, and obediently to

“ to the Government he lives under, and that not only
 “ for Wrath, or Fear of Punishment, but also for CON-
 “ SCIENCE-SAKE, and this is made as necessary a
 “ Condition of going to Heaven, as any other particu-
 “ lar Virtue is. And therefore, if we will instruct
 “ Men in *Christ's* Religion, and in the indispensable
 “ Points of Holiness required thereby, we must instruct
 “ them in this also.

“ One great VICE, and damnable Sin, that the
 “ Religion of our Lord has cautioned against, is the Sin
 “ of Factionfness, and Rebellion; and therefore, if it
 “ be our Duty to declare against the Sins, and Vices,
 “ that are contrary to Christianity, it is our Duty to
 “ declare and caution against this also.

This excellent Passage will have greater Weight
 with this venerable Body, than any Thing Mr. Steele
 can offer to the contrary. I could easily confront his
 Quotations, in the *Preface* to his Book, with Men equal-
 ly Great, and equally Studious of the Nature of Go-
 vernment. It is indeed surprizing, that he should
 single out a Passage from Mr. Stanhope, and Grotius, in
 Defence of Resistance, and apply it to our Constitution,
 as true, wherein it is utterly false. The Passage is,

“ If the King has one Part of the Supreme Power,
 “ and the other Part is in the Senate, or People; when
 “ such a King shall invade that Part which doth not be-
 “ long to him, it shall be lawful to oppose a just Force
 “ to him, because his Power does not extend so far.

Now what is the Meaning of this? But what our
 Laws plainly deny, a *Coercive Power over the Person of the*
Prince. When Mr. Steele has read as far in the *Statute-*
Book, as the Reign of King Charles II. he may meet
 with an *Authentick Record*, of the Sense of the whole Na-
 tion upon this Subject. The Substance of it he may see
 is as follows.

“ That by the undoubted, and Fundamental Laws
 “ of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm,
 “ nor the Commons, nor both together in Parliament,

“ nor
 “ ly,
 “ oug
 “ of t
 “ Thi
 good
 be the
 Acting
 vereign
 Parlian
 Resista
 I sh
 Crisis;
 his Pan
 proper
 Thing
 Nation
 for the
 rits of
 sed Fr
 late T
 our Na
 portun
 Popery
 Crown
 ever h
 men a
 well o
 Aga
 Honor
 on; b
 all thi
 is to h
 a Deta
 Observ
 Book, t
 For in

“ nor out of Parliament, Collectively, or Representative-
 “ ly, nor any other Persons whatsoever, had, hath, or
 “ ought to have any Coercive Power over the Persons
 “ of the KING S of this Realm.

This *Statute* stands unrepealed, and is consequently as
 good Law, as any he has mentioned; and if these are to
 be the Measures of Obedience, and our Rule, both in
 Acting and Speaking, concerning the Power of our So-
 vereigns, Mr. *Steele* is desired to reconcile this Act of
 Parliament, with the Notion he adopts from *Grotius*, of
 Resistance.

I shall not insist much upon any other Parts of his
Crisis; I think his *Encomium* upon Liberty very Good,
 his *Panegyrick* upon the Duke of *Marlborough*, just and
 proper, and would scorn to dissent from him in any
 Thing that looks toward the Honour of the *British*
Nation; and hope we shall always have a tender Regard
 for the Charms of the one, and a due Sense of the Me-
 rits of the other. At the same time he uses an unlicen-
 sed Freedom, in attempting to blast the Credit of our
 late Transactions; he plainly accuses the Managers of
 our National Concerns; at least of letting slip an Op-
 portunity of diminishing the Power of *France*, and
 Popery. He has discovered more *Pretenders* to the
 Crown of *Great-Britain*, than most People amongst us
 ever heard of; he has called that Part of his Country-
 men a *Faction*, whom his *Sovereign* is pleased to think
 well of, and advance.

Again, I must own, that he talks with a Spirit of
 Honour, and sometimes with a good Notion of Religi-
 on; but I cannot see why we might not as well have had
 all this Parcel'd out in *Pennyworths* in the *English-Man*,
 as to have our Expectations raised to such a Degree, for
 a Detail of Acts of Parliament. There is one natural
 Observation, which many People have made upon the
Book, that one Part of it plainly contradicts the other.
 For in some places he endeavours to prove it impossible,
 that

that a *Popish Successor* should ever attain his End in these Nations; and in others, that it is not only probable, but very feasible for him to do it. When *Mr. Steele* is pleased to inform us which is his real Opinion, we shall be better able to judge of his Reasons for writing the *Crisis*.

and I, as any he has mentioned, and in the Measures of Obedience, and the Liberty, both in going and speaking, concerning the Power of our Sovereign, Mr. Steele is desired to reconcile this Act of Parliament, with the Liberty he adopts from Gower, of

I shall not insist much upon any other Parts of his Essay; I think his Encomium upon Liberty very good, and I am sure it will be so to all who are sensible of the Liberty of the Press, and would not be so much as to say that it is a thing that looks like a Liberty, but is not a Liberty.



FINIS.

of the other. At the same time he uses an unqualified Freedom, in attempting to blast the Credit of our Managers; he plainly accuses the Managers of National Concerns; at least of being false and untruthful in diminishing the Power of France, and of having discovered more than what is to the Honour of Great Britain, than most People amongst us are heard of; he has called that Part of his Countrymen a Faction, whom his Severity is pleased to think well of, and advance.

Again, I must own, that he talks with a Spirit of Honour, and sometimes with a good Notion of Religion; but I cannot see why we might not as well have this Parcel of our Countrymen in the English-Manner, to have our Expectations raised to such a Degree, for Detail of Acts of Parliament. There is one natural Observation, which many People have made upon the Act, that one Part of it plainly contradicts the other, or in some places he endeavours to prove it impossible, that

[illegible]